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CUBA MUST BE FREE.

The life of Spain, extending over two thousand years, is written in innocent blood, and is black with crime.

Weyler's rule was absolutism, tempered alone by murder and modified by assassination.

The torch that has lighted Cuba so long must be extinguished, the shrieks of dying women and children must be hushed, broken hearts must be bound up, wounds be healed, the prison pens be opened, and the people made free.

S P E E C H

OF

HON. WILLIAM V. ALLEN,

OF NEBRASKA,

IN THE

SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

THURSDAY, MARCH 31, 1898.

WASHINGTON.

1898.

72.01

SPEECH
OF
HON. WILLIAM V. ALLEN.

The Senate having under consideration the following resolution reported from the Committee on Foreign Relations:

Resolved, That the President be requested, if not incompatible with the public interest, to transmit to the Senate all of the consular correspondence relating to the conduct of the war in the Island of Cuba, the condition of the people, and other matters relating thereto—

Mr. ALLEN said:

Mr. PRESIDENT: My zeal for Cuban independence is not new born, nor the growth of a mere night. I spoke for the liberation of the Cuban people when it was by no means a popular thing to do, and I recall very distinctly at this time that several years ago the then senior Senator from Florida [Mr. Call] and I were apparently the only persistent and outspoken friends of the Cuban people in this Chamber. We were indefatigable in our advocacy of independence and intervention. We were so persistent that we incurred the displeasure of many Senators, some of whom I am now glad to know have become the sincere and fearless advocates of independence. That I may prove the correctness of my statement, I will refer briefly to the record.

December 4, 1895, I introduced a resolution, of which this is a paragraph:

That the Government of the United States of America should promptly recognize the revolutionists of Cuba, who are now honestly struggling to secure their independence of the Spanish Government, as composing an independent nation and possessing the rights thereof according to the law of nations.

And, in speaking in its support at that time, I said, among other things:

I am of the number who believe that this Government should promptly recognize the revolutionists of Cuba and assist them in all lawful ways to secure their independence of the Spanish Government and enable them to establish an independent republic. I would not have this Government plunge headlong into a needless quarrel with the Spanish Government, but I would lend every assistance that could be lawfully and properly given to the aspirations of the people of Cuba for a republican form of government.

I believe it to be the true policy and the true doctrine of our country that whenever a people show themselves desirous of establishing a republican form of government upon any territory adjacent to us they should receive our encouragement and support. If our form of government is the correct one—and of that I have no doubt—then its recognition or establishment in other lands should be encouraged, and when an opportunity shall present itself to us to lend this encouragement it should be promptly and effectually given.

Speaking to the same resolution December 11, 1895, I urged its adoption.

February 27, 1896, I said:

What is there to prohibit this Government, by proper act of Congress, whether it be in the form of a joint or concurrent resolution, from declaring the acknowledgment of the existence of the Cuban Republic; and would not that be a recognition of the independency of that republic, although as a matter of fact it may not have yet succeeded in repelling the power that assails it?

February 28 I introduced this resolution:

Resolved, That the President of the United States be, and he is hereby, authorized and requested to issue a proclamation recognizing the Republic of Cuba as it exists under the constitution and form of government proclaimed at Jimaguayua, under President Cisneros, in the month of May, A. D. 1895, as a free and independent nation, and according the envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of said Republic all the rights and privileges accorded to the envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the Government of Spain.

And in its support said:

The Cubans have an established republic. It may be feeble, it is true, but certainly those people are in possession of three-fourths of that island and its life is maintained by their valor.

When we declare that the Republic of Cuba is an independent and sovereign nation, it becomes such in the meaning of international law, so far as we are concerned, although its complete independence of Spain may not have been accomplished. If the conclusion reached by the Senator from Delaware and the Senator from California is to be accepted as final, there are no circumstances under which a struggling people can be recognized as independent until, unaided and alone, they are able to maintain a government independent of those against whom they are in revolt. This is not the independent government spoken of and recognized by international law.

And again:

Mr. President, I would go further in the interest of humanity than these resolutions propose to go. I would not only recognize the belligerent rights of Cuba, but I would establish her as one of the republics of this earth. If need be, I would muster every man in the United States and every war vessel necessary to the accomplishment of the task, and I would erect on the ashes and ruins of Spain's control of that island a republic modeled after the institutions of our own. Sir, I would not only do that, but, if I had it in my power, I would admit the minister of the Republic of Cuba, feeble as it may be, unimportant in the eyes of the world as it may be, to the diplomatic circles at this capital upon terms of equality with the minister from Spain.

The same day, the Senate having under consideration a concur-

rent resolution reported from the Committee on Foreign Relations, declaring—

That the United States of America should maintain a strict neutrality between the contending powers, according to each all the rights of belligerents in the ports and territory of the United States.

And—

That the friendly offices of the United States should be offered by the President to the Spanish Government for the recognition of the independence of Cuba.

I offered as a substitute the resolution I have just quoted. A motion was made by Mr. Sherman, of Ohio, to lay my amendment on the table, and in support of it a yea-and-nay vote was taken, and the amendment was defeated—yeas 52, nays 17.

March 19, 1896, in discussing the constitutional power and the duty of the Government to recognize Cuban independence, I said, in reply to the Senator from Louisiana [Mr. CAFFERY]:

The Senator from Louisiana, as I said, is talking upon a very important question. Let it be conceded that authority may be found in international law applicable to the case of a kingdom or an empire, where the power of the executive is undoubted; but has the Senator any authority applicable to a Government like ours, where the governing power rests in three coordinate departments, which would lead him to believe that this high power is exclusive in the executive department?

Again, March 20, 1896, in combating the contention of the Senator from Louisiana that the Supreme Court had jurisdiction to determine a question of belligerency, I declared:

That the power to recognize the belligerency or political independence of a people is a purely political question with which the Supreme Court has no concern.

And I held, as I now hold, that it belongs to Congress, or, possibly in some instances, to Congress and the Executive together.

Yet, again, March 23, 1896, in discussing the Cuban question somewhat at length, I said:

Certainly a state of war exists on the Island of Cuba. What is war? Mr. President, it is simply an armed conflict between nations or between parts of nations. It must be something that rises above a riot; it must be a rebellion; and so far as Cuba is concerned, it is a rebellion, with a regular military organization upon the part of the insurgents. If that is not a state of war in fact, then I am entirely mistaken in my conception of what constitutes public war.

And further along:

My understanding is that about two-thirds of the Island of Cuba, possibly three-fourths, is under the dominion of the insurgents under the command of Gomez and Maceo and their followers. There is a distinct portion of that territory that has on its face as well equipped armies as could be expected under the circumstances, where the Republic of Cuba has absolute control and dominion over life and property. That is a portion of the territory

through which the Spanish forces do not march and over which they do not exercise any control. There are well-equipped and drilled armies in the field under martial law. I have the number of troops here, to which I am going to refer in a moment. If that does not constitute a state of war, according to the definition of the books—if war is to be fought according to books—then I am mistaken in my understanding of what the books define to be necessary to constitute war.

And again:

Are we to stand here until the Spaniards cut the throats of the Cubans, and until the bloody events pass into the permanent history of the country, before we take any notice of what is transpiring there? We know that a state of war exists there, and the only question, in my judgment, is whether we have the patriotism to say that those people in Cuba who are struggling for their liberty shall be recognized as belligerents and have equal opportunities with the people of Spain in this country and in the ports of this country.

Still again:

If the struggling patriots of Cuba are entitled to any recognition whatever at our hands, why not give them that kind of recognition which will be of benefit to them? Why say to the people of Cuba who are waging this war for the preservation of their political rights, for the preservation of their homes, for the preservation of their wives and children, "We sympathize with you, but we can not extend to you aid under these circumstances?"

Mr. President, it occurs to me that it would be no more cruel to place water within the sight of a dying man upon a desert and to say to him, "We sympathize with you, but we can not give you the water." If we stand here and suffer Spain to apply the knife to the throats of the Cubans, we will be justly chargeable in the eyes of the civilized world with impotency and with cowardice. Why not put these resolutions in the form of a joint resolution? Why not send them to the President of the United States and say to him, "Sign these resolutions, make them a part of the law of the country, or take the responsibility of inviting the adverse criticism of your countrymen?"

A few days ago Senators in this Chamber, to use a phrase which probably is not altogether parliamentary, were falling over one another to vote for the resolution. There was a wonderful burst of patriotism and patriotic sentiment here, among Republicans and Democrats alike—and Populists were inspired a little, too—in order to demonstrate to the world by our votes that we not only sympathized with Cuba, but that we were willing, if need be, to afford her substantial aid under these distressing circumstances.

Yet our patriotism has been sifting out from that moment to this, until it is very doubtful whether the resolutions can pass here to-day. First came the senior Senator from Maine [Mr. HALE] antagonizing the resolutions, then the honorable senior Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. HOAR], and finally the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations, I guess, has concluded that it is about time for him to retreat, and we are offered the resolution now before the Senate to recommit the Cuban resolutions for further consideration. I suppose that is the end of it.

February 24, 1897, I introduced the following resolution:

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that the President should speedily and effectually protect the lives and liberties of peaceable American citizens residing or sojourning in Cuba, and that he should promptly insist that Spain in her war against her colonists in the Island of Cuba should conduct the same on principles of civilized warfare, eliminating all unusual and unnecessary cruelty and barbarity; and for the enforcement of these reason-

able and just requirements United States battle ships should be sent without delay to Cuban waters.

And on the succeeding day, in discussing and urging its passage, remarked:

It seems to be conclusively established that the Spanish military authorities in Cuba are gathering up the little girls in that island and selling them into a species of slavery, the worst conceivable in the human mind, selling them to lives of shame. Above that and beyond that, it seems to be conclusively established that Spanish soldiers have in one or more instances taken little infants by the heels, held them up, and hacked them to pieces with the deadly machete in the presence of the mothers and the fathers, and then have destroyed the mothers and fathers themselves.

But it does seem to me absolutely humiliating that a government of 52,000,000 people, claiming to be the most powerful government upon the face of the earth, with all the means in its hands to settle this question, will sit idly and supinely here and make no effort to protect these people, these innocent little girls and children, who are being treated with this extreme barbarity from day to day. Here is this decaying monarchy of Spain, a blot upon the map of the world, a disgrace, Mr. President, to the present civilization of Europe, a disgrace to the civilization of the Western Hemisphere; and here is Congress, with this conduct going on almost within 100 miles of our shores, and not a substantial effort is put forth to check it. Mr. President, the time will come, and come speedily, unless we take prompt action in this matter, when a man will have to hang his head in shame for being an American citizen.

Again, February 25, 1897, I said:

For the purpose of testing the question whether we shall have war or peace and whether there is any sincerity in these resolutions, I move that the Indian appropriation bill be temporarily laid aside and that the joint resolution with reference to Julio Sanguily be taken up for consideration.

May 11, 1897, the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN] having introduced a resolution declaring that a condition of public war existed in Cuba and that neutrality should be maintained, I observed:

The world knows that Spain has been guilty of atrocities that no civilized nation can sustain either directly or indirectly. The cruelties have been without a precedent in the last one hundred years of the world's existence. This Government has sent special agent after special agent to Cuba to ascertain the truth, and yet when we want information from the State Department we have to seek it as supplicants, not as Senators charged with a public duty and capable of discharging that duty. We have to appeal to the State Department or to the executive branch of the Government for information. Repeatedly the Senator from Alabama [Mr. MORGAN] has told us what the facts are, and he is a member of the Committee on Foreign Relations; and yet constantly we have this delay.

* * * * *

Is it possible that the United States by this indirection is willing to commit itself to the Spanish policy of atrocity and cruelty?

Is it possible that the President of the United States, or those who may represent him in this Chamber, are willing that these cruelties shall go on and that the Senate shall not voice its conviction of Spanish cruelty in Cuba? If that is the policy, Mr. President, I feel confident that the people of the

United States will condemn it. If that is the policy, it is a cowardly policy for any Administration to adopt. The joint resolution ought to be adopted unanimously, without a dissenting voice.

December 8, 1897, I introduced this resolution:

Resolved, That it is the sense of the Senate that Congress should, with all due and convenient speed, acknowledge by appropriate act the political independence of the Republic of Cuba--

And, in support of it, said:

Notwithstanding the President has urged the contrary in his message, I would not be content or satisfied with a simple acknowledgment of the beligerent rights of the people of that island, but I would demand absolute and unconditional political liberty and a recognition of the government they themselves have formed and to whose sovereignty they owe allegiance.

The American people believe in political and religious liberty, and they are anxious to accord to others what they themselves esteem the birthright of all, and I am confident they will not be content with the course advised by this, as they were not with that pursued by the preceding Administration in withholding from Cuba that priceless blessing.

And farther along:

We have declared our unchangeable devotion to the doctrine that this continent shall be free soil and be trodden alone by freemen, and yet we sustain the hold of a tottering and cruel monarchy, the institutions of which are passing into decay and which is satisfied only when inflicting on a civilized people, struggling for their political independence, the most cruel torture. In His own good time, God will call us to account for such rank hypocrisy and such a flagrant neglect of public duty.

February 8, 1898, in speaking on the subject of Cuba, I remarked:

My attention has been called to the fact that since the opening of hostilities between the Republic of Cuba and the Spanish forces in that island 300,000 pacificos have died by starvation and disease generated and directly traceable to the lack of sufficient food and sanitary conditions. I had a conversation a few days ago with a gentleman who is very familiar with the island and the conditions existing there, whose word can not be doubted and whose position warrants him in speaking with authority, in which he informed me that it was the custom of the Spanish Government to herd hundreds of families together in sheds and exposed positions, without any sanitary conditions whatever, starving them until disease as a result of their starvation intervenes, and that over 300,000 of them had died in consequence of that treatment.

Mr. President, I have quoted freely from my resolutions and remarks, not to exalt myself in the eyes of anyone, but to show that in the years that have gone by I have steadfastly advocated the political independence embraced in the present discussion. I have never wavered in the belief nor lost faith in the fact that ultimately Cuba, by force of the public sentiment of this country and of the civilized world and by the gallantry of her soldiers, would win her freedom and add her name to the republics of this continent. I have at all times been convinced that sooner or

later she would stand forth, perhaps weak at first, but ultimately strong, a splendid young republic added to the grand galaxy of republics of the earth. In the hour of her deepest political night, when there did not seem a ray of hope or a gleam of light, I felt confident that in the providence of God she would wrest her liberty from Spain and proudly take her station in the ranks of self-governed peoples.

Mr. President, nations, like men, that would accomplish great results must not grow weary; they must not hesitate; they must not turn back; they must not grow faint-hearted, but persistently push on, determined to accomplish their high purpose, and bide the time when an awakened sense of right in the enlightened world will aid them.

During the years of Cuba's gallant struggle for liberty—now happily, in my judgment, almost at an end—there were those who said our Government ought to tender its good offices for autonomy under the Spanish flag, while others favored merely the recognition of belligerency; but Cuba's true friends, penetrating the cloud of darkness, foresaw the outcome of the unhappy and unfortunate condition then prevailing.

Sir, we stand to Cuba as an elder brother. We owe her a duty we can not honorably escape. To desert her at this time would be base cowardice—a cowardice the people of the United States and the men of other generations would not palliate or excuse. We are the guardians of liberty on this continent. We must do our duty without temporizing or hesitancy, not in a swaggering manner like the bravo or the bully; not in a way that will indicate we are moved by prejudice or by passion, but in a manner that will convince the world that we believe the time has come at last when every foot of American soil occupied by the hideous monarchy of Spain should be wrested from her and be henceforth dedicated to the cause of human freedom.

I will not weary the Senate with lengthy remarks. I shall not take time to define my position, for I have defined it an infinite number of times before. I stand now where I stood at the first moment the war began—in favor of prompt, unconditional recognition of the political independence of the Republic of Cuba.

Our ancestors declared to the world that all men are by nature

free and equal and entitled to certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. They did not confine themselves to the inhabitants of the colonies; they did not limit the declaration to the people of the Western Hemisphere; but they held that all men, under whatever sun they might be born or on whatever soil they might live, were created free and equal and entitled to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

Sir, I hold human freedom and the right of self-government to be as inalienable as the right to breathe the air or to enjoy the sunlight, or any of the manifold gifts of God to his people. My right to govern myself, if capable of doing so: to believe and act as I will, not interfering with the like right of others, and to worship the Supreme Being in my own way is as inseparable from my existence as life itself. The right of self-government is God-given and inalienable, and whoever violates it flies in the face of Providence and wrests from the individual the most precious gift of all.

Mr. President, for forty years the children of Israel wandered in the wilderness, fleeing from Pharaoh and his host of persecutors and taskmasters. For forty years they sought religious and political freedom in desert wastes. They fled from the land of oppression and bondage to the land of promise that flowed with milk and honey. Their great leader, in the nobleness of his nature, could not endure to see his people in slavery, compelled to make brick without straw for the Egyptians under the lash of their cruel masters. To him was revealed the duty of leading his brethren and the hosts of Israel to the promised land. They started on a journey made memorable by Biblical record—a journey unparalleled in the history of the world.

They had no food for their sustenance, but He who sees even the sparrow's fall fed them with manna and quail from on high. Their raiment was inadequate, but He who clothes the lily of the field wonderfully preserved their garments. Their cause was right. They trusted to God, who guides the destiny of nations and of individuals, and were delivered from the land of captivity and bondage and founded a mighty nation, whose people have increased and spread throughout the earth.

Mr. President, there is a striking similitude found in the condition of the Cubans. Twice forty years they have struggled for

liberty and for freedom from Spanish masters. War has been repeatedly waged, thousands of human lives have been lost. While the struggle was an unequal one, resulting in disaster to their cause, they have been inspired by an unquenchable thirst for freedom by the example we furnished them, and they have persevered until now they stand within the dawn of absolute independence under the guidance of the master hand of Maximo Gomez. Gomez will occupy a bright page in the history of his country, now being rapidly written by current events, while Weyler's page will be made infamous by murder and assassination.

Gomez, advanced in years, frail of body, but stout of heart and resolute of purpose, can justly be ranked among the great commanders and revolutionists of the century. Almost any other man at his time of life would have sought repose rather than war, but he chose the field of glory whereon liberty is to be won or lost forever for his countrymen. He spurned bribes and offers of position at the hands of a cowardly Spanish dynasty. He is the firm and steadfast friend of his people, and has smitten the rock that will cause political freedom to gush forth and save a famishing nation.

Gomez, like his illustrious prototype, may not live to see the complete deliverance of his people from the bondage of Spain. He may be permitted to view the promised land from some mountain height and then be lost to the world forever and no man know the place of his burial, but the memory of his deeds will live fresh in the minds of the people as long as liberty has an abiding place on earth.

The life of Spain, extending over two thousand years, is written in innocent blood and is black with crime. Who can turn to the history of Cortez's conquest of Mexico from 1518 to 1521 and read of the hundreds of thousands of inoffensive men and women who were slain without turning from the appalling account sick at heart; or to Pizarro's expedition to Peru, where thousands of innocent lives were sacrificed and the Inca foully murdered after having paid over 4,600,000 ducats as the price of peace for his country; or to the account of the Duke of Alva in the Netherlands, whose crimes are so vividly portrayed by the historian Motley, without being absolutely appalled.

This savage monster first established what is known in history as the Blood Council. He destroyed all domestic judicial tribunals, and before himself and his Blood Council the innocent peasantry were brought for trial; but they were not tried. Without evidence and without hearing they were indiscriminately sent to the stake, to the rope, or to the funeral pile. The sickening account of blood and death is thus related:

Thus the whole country became a charnel house: the death bell tolled hourly in every village; not a family but was called to mourn for its dearest relatives, while the survivors stalked listlessly about, the ghosts of their former selves, among the wrecks of their former homes. The spirit of the nation, within a few months after the arrival of Alva, seemed hopelessly broken. * * * The blood of its best and bravest had already stained the scaffold; men to whom it had been accustomed to look for guidance and protection were dead, in prison, or in exile. Submission had ceased to be of any avail, flight was impossible, and the spirit of vengeance had lighted at every fireside. The mourners went daily about the streets, for there was hardly a house which had not been made desolate.

The scaffolds, the gallows, the funeral piles which had been sufficient in ordinary times, furnished now an entirely inadequate machinery for the incessant executions. Columns and stakes in every street, the doorposts of private houses, the fences in the fields, were laden with human carcasses, strangled, burned, beheaded. The orchards in the country bore on many a tree the hideous fruit of human bodies. Thus the Netherlands were crushed, and, but for the stringency of the tyranny which had now closed their gates, would have been depopulated.

Mr. President, this is a most striking and vivid parallel of the career of Weyler. That monster went to Cuba with the deliberate and premeditated purpose of depopulating it by every known process of extermination. The midnight darkness was made lurid by the torch applied to the habitations of a peaceful peasantry and the inhabitants were shot down or hacked to death by the machete in the light of the consuming flames. Those who were not engaged in the war and gave it no aid or sympathy, old men, innocent women, and sucklings, were destroyed indiscriminately.

Women were violated in the most shocking manner and destroyed, while orphaned children, as they wandered aimlessly about, were killed by an idle and reckless soldiery whose occupation is murder and whose pastime is pillage. The prison was the tomb from which none were permitted to escape alive. There was universal destruction, devastation, mourning, and ashes. Finally, being convinced that death was not speedy enough for his purpose, Weyler issued an order that all the pacificos should be concentrated at stated places, huddled together like animals,

not furnished with food nor permitted to seek it for themselves, and, having no sanitary conveniences, they became the victims of certain starvation until the record of mortality, as we are informed, has reached 500,000 souls.

We have heard from the Senator from Vermont [Mr. PROCTOR], from the Senator from New Hampshire [Mr. GALLINGER], from my colleague [Mr. THURSTON], and from the Senator from Mississippi [Mr. MONEY] vivid relations of the sad story of death and devastation. In all history a more hideous and cruel character than Weyler can not be found. Cortez, Pizarro, the Duke of Alva, and Weyler will stand forth in all ages as typical Spanish soldiers, and Weyler will be regarded as the most inhuman of all. They are the butchers of the past and present age. The sea-green Robespierre in the palmiest days of the French revolution, when heads were falling daily by the hundreds, was not more malicious or more fiendish than Weyler in Cuba, but 90 miles from our shores.

Is it to be supposed that the American people, the Christian conscience of the world, will longer submit to this wholesale murder and assassination? Weyler's rule was absolutism, tempered alone by murder and modified by assassination. The aim was total extermination of the inhabitants of the island and a repopling of that blood-soaked land by willing slaves from Spain and other servile countries.

Mr. President, I pass for a moment only to the sinking of the battle ship *Maine*. According to the recent custom of nations an armed vessel is permitted to enter the port of a friendly power and anchor at such place as may be designated by competent authority. The anchorage may be changed at the instance of the nation owning the port. It is an act of courtesy recognized by civilized governments. It can not be doubted that when an armed vessel of one nation enters the port of another and casts anchor in her waters at a place designated by her authorities there is at least an implied guarantee that the place of anchorage is reasonably safe and that no mine or outside explosive is concealed beneath the waves to send her to the bottom and the souls of her inmates to eternity.

I am not disposed to discuss the painful circumstances of the destruction of the *Maine* and the loss of life incident thereto. It is humiliating, it is mortifying, to say nothing of the inhumanity

attending the act. I fully concur in the opinion that Spain must be made to atone for this wholesale murder, not by the payment of money, for she does not possess gold enough to compensate the insult offered this nation, or for one precious human life lost in the disaster of February 15. But she must compensate by freeing Cuba, by furling her dirty flag and leaving the Western Hemisphere never to return again: never, at least, while the Government of the United States exists and exercises a controlling influence in the politics of this continent.

Mr. President, I am the jingo of jingoes. From the time the war broke out between Spain and Cuba I have been the steadfast and uncompromising advocate of independence. I have never doubted that it would be won, although at times it looked dark: but that ultimately the Cubans would be able to wrest their freedom from the Spanish throne I have always thought certain, and they stand to-day in hailing distance of a new and more perfect civilization. Whatever adjustment is made of the *Maine* disaster, one thing must be definitely understood—it must not be submitted to the arbitrament of foreign powers. Spain must reckon with the American people alone.

Mr. President, possibly I would have exhibited better taste by closing my remarks in simply calling attention to the resolutions I have offered and the speeches I have made on the subject of recognizing Cuban independence, but I have thought it not out of place to take a brief general view of the Cuban situation.

I rejoice to know that the American people have become aroused to the extent that they will no longer listen to Spanish lying or give ear to Spanish threats. We are not a nation of braggarts; we do not seek war with Spain or with any other country. We will resort to arms only when our cause is just and when the enlightened judgment of the American people and of the world will approve our conduct. But, sir, because we are peace loving it must not be thought we are unmindful of the duties imposed on us or that our people are lacking in spirit. We at all times seek peace rather than war, but not that kind of peace that is to be purchased at any price, nor peace with Cuba in chains. In the language of the English ballad—

We don't want to fight, but, by jingo, if we do,
We've got the ships, we've got the men, we've got the money, too.

If Spain will hunt down and execute the deadly assassin who, under cover of darkness, sunk the battle ship *Maine* and sent, without warning, 266 souls into the presence of their Maker; if she will relinquish her occupancy of Cuba, take down her flag from this continent—a flag whose only claim to public attention is that it is stained with twenty centuries of innocent blood, cruelty, and crime—and leave American soil forever, we will be content. We have no greed for Spanish territory nor for Spanish gold. Our policy is that of a contented, domestic people. We do not want Cuba. We do not even desire to be her guardian. But we are determined she shall be free and that for all time we will be rid of the close proximity of a nation whose chief occupation is the shedding of innocent blood.

The torch that has lighted Cuba so long must be extinguished, the shrieks of dying women and children must be hushed, broken hearts must be bound up, wounds be healed, the prison pens be opened, and the people made free. Cuba, now draped in mourning, must once more become the gem of the Caribbean Sea, and when all these shall have been accomplished, speedily, let us hope, the American people can well afford to announce to the world that their account with the Spanish Kingdom is forever closed.

Sir, if I could have my own way, I would promptly recall our minister from Madrid and give Spain's minister at Washington his passport. I would close forever the political, financial, and commercial relations of the two nations, and not again permit an armed Spaniard to set foot on American soil.

Mr. President, it is well known that I am thoroughly and unalterably opposed to the President in most of his policies. It would be impossible for us to be brought together unless he should cease to be a Republican and become a Populist, a thing he probably will not do. I have no faith that our country can ever become permanently prosperous by an application of the domestic policies he would enforce.

But in this time of great national anxiety, when there is an impending cloud of war, as one of the Senators of one of the greatest and best States of the Union, I am willing to give him my support and encouragement and aid him in the solution of this troublesome question. In the presence of the grave circumstances



now confronting the American people all mere party differences must for the time be laid aside, and all American citizens, regardless of political affiliation, stand together for the honor and glory of their country.

Sir, in all I have said in behalf of Cuban independence in the years gone by, from the time the subject first came to the notice of Congress to this moment, my conscience has been my sole guide. It has been—

A lamp unto my feet and a light unto my path.

I have said for the Cubans what I would say for any other nation under like circumstances, and what I would want them to say for my country if positions were changed.

Mr. President, I believe Cuba is free. I believe but a few more days and we will witness the flag of the new Republic, consecrated by thousands of human lives, by so much blood, by the tears and groans of her people, the wailing of her womanhood and the sacrifice of her childhood, waving in triumph from Pinar del Rio to Santiago de Cuba. Then we will be able to exclaim, as did one of old:

The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor; he hath sent me to heal the broken hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised, to preach the acceptable year of the Lord.

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